The Morality Play By The Catonsville Nine, P. 2

First Glad Tidings in This Election
"LeMay Charges Nixon Plans Left-Wing Cabinet."—Washington Post, *October 9*

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The Wilful Blindness of McGeorge Bundy

McGeorge Bundy's speech at De Pauw University is a victory for the peace movement and a justification for those of us who will vote for neither Nixon nor Humphrey. It is a victory in that one of the chief architects of our Vietnamese policy now says we must end the bombing of the North and de-escalate the American military effort, irrespective of what Hanoi does. The speech is also a justification for the election cop-out because this Republican, who was in charge of foreign policy at the White House for Kennedy and Johnson, this symbol of the bi-partisan pro-war Establishment, sketches out a new consensus for a new Administration which would neither get us out of the Southeast Asian quagmire nor forestall more Vietnams elsewhere.

No Shame. No Regret. No Second Thoughts.

The logic of Bundy's position is withdrawal. The man who advised Johnson three years ago to bomb the North now says the bombing is futile and that the war cannot be won no matter how much we escalate it. He says an annual cost of $30 billion, a yearly toll of 10,000 American lives, "the increasing bitterness and polarization of our people" and "the growing alienation of a generation which is the best we have had" are "now plainly unacceptable. So we must not go on as we are going." But then he turns around and says that "we *should cut back* — but we need not and should not give up." This man who was so arrogant and smug three years ago in rejecting the anti-war protests of his old academic colleagues is still unprepared to change our basic course or to admit any mistakes. But until those mistakes are clearly faced we are bound to repeat them. He even reminds those who favor the bombing and escalation that his own shift of position does not spring from "moral outrage or political hostility to the objective." This is a confession of moral callousness and wilful political blindness.

This is a preview of the best we can expect from either candidate. It is not good enough. Bundy wants us to cut back but to get ready to keep troops indefinitely in Vietnam. He proposes the withdrawal of 100,000 to 150,000 troops in 1969 with a saving of $5 to $8 billion, and a comparable reduction in 1970. These puny half-measures will not free the funds or moral energies we need to meet our racial and urban crises. The Pentagon can swallow up those few billions saved and grab for more on the excuse that we must give our fighting men, especially since their numbers have been reduced, the very best and newest equipment. Bundy would have us *dig in for a long war by military reforms which* would make it possible to keep combat troops there for longer than the present 12-month rotation. Yet he seriously offers this mishmash as a means by which a new Administration can "reknit the essential relation of confidence between itself and the nation."

To hang around in Southeast Asia is to invite trouble. Without a fundamental revision of policy, we will continue to bleed away our youth and substance in this trap of our own making. Bundy still wants an American protectorate over Southeast Asia. The climax of his folly lies in his assertion that "in a policy of cutback there is still ample room for steadfast support of our friends, and ample guarantee against defeat imposed by the external aggressors . . . . ample demonstration for all who live in the area not only that we keep our commitments but that we know how to change our course with care and clarity." Those conceited words will be read with derision in Saigon, Bangkok and Taipei. What if the withdrawal leads to a series of Dienbienphus as the guerrillas overwhelm our shrunken enclaves? What if the Saigon regime collapses as "our friends" head for Switzerland with the money our troops have spent in their bars and bordelloes? What if Thailand erupts into a second Vietnam? Bundy's mini-imperialism is a recipe for new disasters.

All this springs from Bundy's unwillingness to reassess a past for which he bears so much responsibility. That is why we find him saying that though "the burden of this war must

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The Men to Vote For

We welcome McCarthy's refusal to endorse Humphrey and hope his endorsement of Muskie does not portend a slide back into camp. Muskie's colorless record in the Senate was that of a loyal Johnson hack. We need McCarthy badly to save as many Democratic liberals as possible from the tidal wave of abstention and alienation. A Senate without Morse or Gruening, the two firmest peace advocates, would be a disaster; they are poor men and need help urgently. Gruening was defeated by a cross-over and may win on a write-in. We strongly urge the election of O'Dwyer in New York, and such Senate liberals as McGovern in South Dakota, Clark in Pennsylvania, Fulbright in Arkansas, Ribicoff in Connecticut, Nelson in Wisconsin and Church in Idaho. Clark in Illinois, Gilligan in Ohio, Cranston in California, Hughes in Iowa, Eagleton in Missouri, Mathias in Maryland and Collins in Florida also deserve support. These could become the nucleus for a new and stronger opposition to war and militarism in the next four years.

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The Catonsville Nine Used The Special Forces Handbook To Make Their Own Napalm

They Pleaded Guilty Of Burning Paper Instead of Children

In the days of the New Deal the WPA had something called Living Theatre. Living theatre is what radicals have begun to produce. One example is the black comedy a wild horde of hippies and yippies wove around the House Un-American Activities Committee, driving it to suspend its hearings into the Chicago peace demonstrations. Those shopworn inquisitors did not know what to do with witnesses who acted out the procedure's essential irrationality.

Another example is the Morality Play the Catonsville Nine have been enacting. They staged their first act on May 17 when they entered a local draft board in Catonsville, Md., and burned up its files, with napalm they manufactured themselves from a recipe in the U.S. Special Forces Handbook. "Our apologies, good friends," said Father Daniel Berrigan, the poet-priest who was one of their leaders, "for the fracture of good order, the burning of paper instead of children."

Legalistic Defenses Avoided

The second act was in a Federal court in Baltimore last week before Chief Judge Roszel C. Thomsen. The Nine are all Catholic, clergy and lay. Their types are recognizable through history: the stuff of which saints are made, moved by a deeper sensitivity to human suffering. They joyfully admitted their guilt, like early brethren preparing for the lions. No legalisms spoiled the second act curtain.

The government, in its own dramaturgy, picked a black man to prosecute them. First Assistant U.S. Attorney Arthur G. Murphy said the morality of the war was not at issue, though he admitted in passing that a reasonable man might think it illegal. The issue, he said, was simply destroying property and obstructing the law. The chief defense attorney, William Kunstler, insisted "The trial is not as simple, any more than those of Jesus and Socrates were simple."

Judge Thomsen, like a certain forerunner, kept washing his hands of the affair by allowing the defendants extraordinary latitude in explaining why they did it. The two most wondrous characters among the Nine, the ex-priest Thomas Melville and his wife, the ex-nun, were even allowed to touch on the sufferings they saw in Guatemala which ended by driving them into the arms of the guerrillas and out of the Church. Their quiet sobriety is in strange contrast to the traumas that so transformed their lives.

The trial drew some 2,000 zealots from all over the country. The deepest appeal of the spectacle for them was in Father Daniel Berrigan's testimony when he said, "I was in danger of verbalizing my moral impulses out of existence. I sought a way to defy the state even if I was too old to defy the draft." Of course they were found guilty. Not to acquiesce in murder, the chief and most ancient business of the State, is clearly subversive. On November 8 they will be sentenced. The third and longest act will be when they and their supporters use the appeals to put the show on the road. We cannot think of a finer way to stir the sluggish conscience of the nation.

To Strike A Blow for Soviet Freedom

We urge old friends of the Soviet Union to boycott the coming Embassy reception on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution as an act of solidarity with the five Russian dissenters who have just been sentenced in Moscow to prison and exile for a 5-minute demonstration against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. We propose a public statement by those invited. Friends of peace and freedom and socialism—all three damaged by Soviet actions—should refuse to break bread and drink vodka with those who represent these betrayals. Two aspects of these trials are especially offensive. One is the packing of the courtroom by toughs from the secret police whose assignment is to jeer at the defendants and call for harsher sentences. The other is that the Soviet Union has reached a point where Czarist-style exile is regarded as milder than terms in the prison labor camps—which we were assured some years ago had been abandoned! To those old FSU's who are still under the influence of Stalin era delusions, we recommend Solzhenitsyn's novel "The First Circle." In this vast canvas of Soviet prison life, every aspect of Soviet reality is reflected. In pages worthy of Gorky or Dostoyevsky, we can see that the Soviet Union has itself become a prison, and that in the terrible dialectic of its development, only the imprisoned are free. "Not everything in our lives is so black," a prisoner cries at a midnight get-together, "an exchange of free thoughts without fear, without concealment—we didn't have that in freedom." Once jailed for long terms, a man need no longer fear that network of informers which haunts "free" Soviet society. This is what the Czechs fear. This is what the five dissenters protested. One of them, a student poet, said in Court, "For three minutes on Red Square I felt free. I am glad to take your three years [prison sentence] for that." These five spoke for the silenced. They represent the stirrings of resistance on which freedom under socialism depends. The least we can do for them is make displeasure felt by a social boycott.

Vietnam and the Ghetto—A Warning Parallel By One Of Our First Big City Black Mayors

"In the last five years the image of black men as victims of repression has been replaced in the public mind by black men as assailants and aggressors—the black Viet Cong in the nation's midst. Police agencies around the country are stockpiling tear gas, grenades, shotguns, and other diverse types of anti-riot, anti-rebellion and anti-crime equipment. In other words, the nation is steadily moving toward a military solution of a social disorganization, just as the United States in Vietnam stumbled into an all-out war. The great fallacy of politics and political opinion in 1968 is that police action can prevent or can control disorder in the cities. But America has no more the ability to conduct a successful pacification program in the ghettoes of its cities than in Vietnamese hamlets. Either the separate black and white communities become one, or our cities will become shambles, the black and white ghettoes armed camps and the business districts a no man's land."

—Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, speaking at De Pauw University, October 11.

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How the State Department's Efforts on Behalf of Standard Oil Boomeranged

The Story Which Lies Hidden Behind the Peruvian Military Take-Over

We must confess we find some cause for cheer in the Peruvian coup d'etat. The military have always been U.S. pets in Peru as elsewhere in Latin America; in this latest coup dog bit man — the military turned against us. And in a way the State Department finds especially painful but which will give satisfaction elsewhere in Latin America — by cancelling a Standard Oil concession. The protection of this concession has long been a major aim of U.S. policy in Peru, and Secretary Rusk expressed "concern" over it at an impromptu press conference Oct. 9.

A Century Old Scandal

This concession has been a focus of protest for a century or more. It was originally obtained by British interests in 1826. They obtained subsoil exploration rights for 10 *pertenencias* (about 100 acres all told) for a nominal sum. An engineering survey in 1914 disclosed that they had actually been utilizing not 10 but 41,614 pertenencias (or about 416,140 acres). The ensuing scandal has haunted Peruvian politics ever since. It did not die down when International Petroleum Company, a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, took over these huge British holdings in 1926. They produce 80 percent of Peru's crude oil and 90 percent of its natural gas.

The State Department may have precipitated the take-over it now deplores. Frederick B. Pike in his recently published *The Modern History of Peru* (Praeger) says the reformist President Belaunde whom the military have just overthrown was hampered by the effort "of the State Department to wring from him guarantees to maintain the favored treatment which the Peruvian government has accorded the International Petroleum Company."

IPC was paying only 50 percent of its profits to Peru while other oil countries were getting as much as 70 percent. Belaunde was under pressure to get better terms or nationalize. Mr. Pike goes on to say sardonically —

Apparently feeling that continuation of the conspicuous privileges of U.S. oil interests takes precedence over matters of internal Peruvian reforms and renovation projects, the pristine spirit of the Alliance for Progress notwithstanding, the Lyndon Johnson Administration declined to cooperate with the Belaunde administration unless it would give the desired assurances of following an indulgent policy toward the IPC. This Belaunde refused to do and, as a result, by late 1965 was still not receiving the share of Alliance for Progress funds that his Government had earned the right to expect.

Since Mr. Pike wrote, Belaunde gave in and negotiated a new contract satisfactory to Standard Oil. Peru recovered title to the oil lands but at the expense of giving IPC refining and marketing rights, and dropping all claims for back taxes. The result split Belaunde's party. The coup followed. But the military—who received $5 million in aid from Washington last fiscal year alone—abrogated the contract and nationalized the oil properties. How sad when we cannot even trust the Latin military any more.

A Mark Twain In The Pentagon

The U.S. Comptroller General wrote an illuminating though unintentional footnote Sept. 27 to the speech Defense Secretary Clifford made the day before to the National Security Industrial Association. Clifford boasted that "We now have a military-industrial team with unique resources of experience, engineering talent, management and problem-solving capacities" which could be used to find "the answers to complex domestic problems" in education and social welfare. As if to warn us not to take this public relations blarney too seriously, the Comptroller General filed a report on how poorly managed is the Pentagon's program for producing something as simple as ammunition. Army Materiel Command turns out $1.6 billion a year. The CG found that a lot of it is defective because the elaborate testing procedures often are not applied. The new audit found some of the same deficiencies uncovered in earlier investigations in 1964 and 1961; in one case production went on despite repeated "premature explosions." In another, 30 percent of the output of a 105 mm. projectile was so poor it had to be marked for "combat emergency use only." If the Pentagon can't even keep phony ammunition from being sold the Army, its computers certainly offer no magic for solving social problems. We must, however, compliment the Secretary on the understatement of the century in his speech. "Of course," he said, "I do not regard the Department of Defense primarily as an instrument of social welfare." Mark Twain would have loved that.

The Lawlessness And Disorder Which Go Unmentioned In The Campaign

"This report is the third in a period of four years in which the Southern Regional Council has attempted to tell the nation of the deplorable degree of failure in the South to comply with the law of the land against racial discrimination in education. In the previous two reports, in 1965 and 1966, there were empirical and psychological reasons for including some guardedly optimistic, some hopeful words. This time there seems almost no hope.

"The real story told in this report is that of where the real breakdown in law and order, all along, has been. Out in the rural areas of the South, where law enforcement was repressive before it became fashionable to be so, the advent of the guidelines, the threat that black children might actually go to school with white children, brought a wave of terror unmatched since post-Reconstruction whites rode around in bedsheets.

"A passion for tranquility, for order, has led many a responsible reporter, magazine, newspaper, and television network to announce the advent of another school year as an occasion of 'increased desegregation,' or even 'massive desegregation without violence.' (An example of such was the story which ran under a headline proclaiming that school desegregation swept peacefully across Dixie: the story itself recounted instances of desegregators' homes fired into—as many as 32 times—in three towns in one state alone.)

"Freedom-of-choice was a fatal blunder . . . Negro parents, who had from the first simply been interested in getting their children the best education available, failed to see the educational value of losing a job, being shot at, in order that the children might attend a school only a little less bad than the 'Negro' one."

—From "Lawlessness and Disorder," a Southern Regional Council Report issued Oct. 16 (abridged).

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Macchiavellianism Parading As A Search For Peace

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now be lifted" that does not mean "it should never have been fought" nor that "we are required now, by our new necessities, to lose what has been gained in the strategic sense." What have we gained? We have made a mess of Vietnam and Vietnam has made a mess of the United States. Yet Bundy is still pursuing that line of policy to which we have several times called attention as the key to Johnson's abdication. *This is to reduce the level of conflict to a point the American people will tolerate for a long pull without giving up the basic aim of restoring a South Vietnam under American control.* This is Macchiavellianism parading as a search for peace. It will not work politically and it will not work militarily. Yet this is the best the Establishment offers for the next four years.

The Same Pro-War Oligarchy

Bundy says that a nation ready "to keep at least 100,000 troops in place for years" cannot be accused of "faithless withdrawal." To whom would we be faithless? Three years ago just before the bombing of the North began he was in Saigon trying to bring peace amid the warring factions on our side. The situation there is worse than ever. The recent rumors of a new coup reflect the fears of the die-hards that Big Minh's return may foreshadow a broader government and peace negotiations. Bundy will not admit publicly that the Saigon regime today, with a military junta and a rigged Constitution, has the same unrepresentative social base as Diem's dictatorship. It is heavily weighted on the side of the 10 percent pro-war Catholic minority against the pro-peace Buddhist majority. It is heavily weighted on the side of the landlords against the peasants. It is heavily weighted on the side of North Vietnamese refugee Generals who want to reconquer the North against a South and Central Vietnamese majority *of every class* which is for some kind of compromise with the Viet Cong for the sake of peace.

In the name of "self-determination" we are allowing a minority to prevent the majority from determining its own future. This is the sham Bundy would continue, and this is much the same sham bolstered by our Special Forces and Green Berets and electronic anti-guerrilla sniffers and snoopers and all the vast panoply of our military power in the Third World. The only way to free our resources, financial and spiritual, for that "greater America" Bundy calls for is to free us from militarist delusions, to cut the Pentagon down to size, to try and build a better world through the United Nations and not by putting navies on every sea and armies on every Continent in the effort at a Pax Americana which can only bring our country's ruin. Only such a New Charter can win the best of this generation back to normal politics.

October 15

Slain For Jaywalking

Humphrey could have won the black vote if he had had the courage in his law and order speech to move from generalities little different from those of Nixon to the burning question of black community control of its own police. The result was a last-minute reversal by a national coalition of Negro leaders in Gary which had expected to endorse him. In Washington we have just narrowly escaped another serious outbreak as a result of the killing of a Negro who had been jaywalking. Whatever the full story, it is impossible to imagine a policeman killing a white man simply for crossing a street against a red light. A survey in the Washington Post Oct. 13 which deserves national attention shows that 17 citizens, 13 of them black, have been killed by police here since Jan. 1, 1967. Yet no policeman has been indicted for homicide. A long history of police complaisance in the ghetto toward drug sellers and prostitutes combined with a readiness to humiliate and harass the self-respecting black who tries to insist on his rights has built an explosive bitterness everywhere. Even the decent policeman, doing no more than his duty, may be the prisoner and victim of this past. Here lies the real key to "the law and order" issue but it goes unmentioned in the campaign. This is the most frequent provocation to a growing black rebellion but Humphrey does not dare to deal with it.

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